

Message Text

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FOLLOWING TELEGRAM FROM GENEVA DATED JULY 21, 1977 SENT
SECSTATE WASHDC INFO BOGOTA, BRASILIA, BUENOS AIRES, MEXICO
IS REPEATED TO YOU: QUOTE

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USMTN

FOR STR AMB WOLFF AND STATE/ARA/DAS DEVINE AND SIMMERMAN;
AND EB/OT-AHMAD

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: ETRD MTN
SUBJ: MTN - LATIN AMERICAN HESITATIONS ABOUT REQUEST/OFFER PROCEDURE

1. SUMMARY. GROUP AGRICULTURE IS IN RECESS UNTIL JULY 27
TO ALLOW DELEGATIONS TO SEEK INSTRUCTIONS FROM CAPITALS
ON U.S. PROPOSAL FOR ADOPTION OF REQUEST/OFFER PROCEDURE
ON AGRICULTURAL TARIFF AND NON-TARIFF MEASURES AS DEVICE
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TO UNBLICK THE MTN. SIMILAR U.S. PROPOSAL BEING INTRO-
DUCED IN NON-TARIFF MEASURES GROUP TODAY AND IT SEEMS
PROBABLE THAT THIS MEETING ALSO WILL RECESS FOR ABOUT A
WEEK FOR SAME REASON. THE BIGGEST SINGLE PROBLEM IN SELL-
ING THE U.S. PROPOSALS IS RESISTANCE BY SOME LATIN AMERICAN
DELEGATIONS, NOTABLY ARGENTINA, WHICH ARE DEMANDING
FAR-REACHING FORMULATIONS OF "SPECIAL AND DIFFERENTIAL"
(S&D) RULES AND, IN CASE OF ARGENTINA, ASSERTING THAT
NO REQUESTS FOR TRADE BARRIER REDUCTIONS OF ANY KIND
SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO LDCE, OR AT LEAST TO ARGENTINA.

BRAZIL ALSO WANTS S&D, OF COURSE, BUT ITS DELEGATION IS TAKING A MODERATE AND GENERALLY CONSTRUCTIVE LINE THUS FAR. WE WILL BE CONSULTING INFORMALLY WITH KEY DC AND LDC DELEGATIONS OVER COMING DAYS AND WILL REPORT DEVELOPMENTS PROMPTLY. WE ANTICIPATE KEY DELEGATIONS, ESPECIALLY LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES TO WHOSE CAPITALS WE ARE SENDING THIS MESSAGE FOR INFO, WILL BE SOLICITING EXPLICIT INSTRUCTIONS FOR JULY 27 RESUMPTION OF GROUP AGRICULTURE. WE THINK IT WOULD BE ADVISABLE IF WASHINGTON WOULD INSTRUCT OUR EMBASSIES IN BUENOS AIRES, BOGOTA AND BRASILIA TO APPROACH SENIOR LEVELS OF THEIR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS IN AN EFFORT TO ALLAY THEIR SUSPICIONS OF U.S. MOTIVES AND APPEAL FOR COOPERATIVE POSTURE. SAME POINT SHOULD BE MADE TO MEXICAN REPS HERNANDEZ AND GARRIDO, PRESENTLY IN WASHINGTON FOR US-MEXICAN BILATERAL. END SUMMARY

2. UNTIL OPENING OF GROUP AGRICULTURE MEETINGS ON JULY 19, LDCS WERE NOT PREVIOUSLY AWARE OF SHIFT IN U.S. POSITION ON HOW TO UNBLOCK THE MTN. A FULL WEEK OF U.S. CONSULTATIONS WITH EC COMMISSION AT ALL LEVELS(BEGINNING WITH AMBASSADOR STRAUSS' VISIT TO BRUSSELS JULY 11 AND SENIOR OFFICER LEVEL VISIT TO WASHINTON JULY 15-16) HAS RESULTED IN U.S. AND EC AGREEMENT ON HOW TO PROCEED IN BOTH LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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GROUP AGRICULTURE AND NON-TARIFF MEASURES GROUP. OUR CONSULTATIONS HERE HAVE BROUGHT CANADA AND AUSTRALIA TO GO ALONG AND WE EXPECT NO PROBLEMS FROM NORDICS. JAPAN MUST CONSULT TOKYO BUT IF WE CAN AVOID A MAJOR ROADBLOCK FROM OTHER QUARTERS, WE ARE REASONABLY CONFIDENT JAPAN WOULD NOT HAVE THE NERVE TO BLOCK AN AGREEMENT JULY 27. THE PROBLEM IS THE LDCS, AND ESPECIALLY LATIN AMERICAN DELS.

3. BRAZIL HAS FOR SEVERAL YEARS IN THE MTN BEEN THE LEADING PROPONENT AND DEMANDEUR FOR S&D. AMB MACIEL IS IN BRAZIL ON VACATION AND HIS DEPUTY, BARTHEL ROSA, HAS TAKEN A MODERATE AND CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDE BOTH IN THE FORMAL MEETINGS AND IN BILATERAL CONTACTS. INDIAN REP SANDILYA IS ALSO TAKING MODERATE LINE. STRONG DEMANDS FOR FAR-REACHING S&D MEASURES AND RULES TO BE INCORPORATED IN ANY AGREEMENT REACHED THIS WEEK BEING INSISTED UPON PRIMARILY BY ARGENTINE AMB GABRIEL MARTINEZ WITH SUPPORT FROM ANDEAN SPOKESMAN HERRERA (ALTHOUGH COLOMBIA IS THE LEADING ANDEAN FORCE IN MTN AFFAIRS, ECUADOR'S HERRERA IS SPEAKING FOR ANDEAN COUNTRIES ON ROTATIONAL BASIS). MEXICAN REP DELGADO ALSO GIVING SUPPORT TO MARTINEZ AND ANDEANS.

4. THE CONCERNS OF LATIN AMERICANS ARE UNDERSTANDABLE. THEY HAVE BEEN CAUGHT SUDDENLY WITH A SHIFT IN U.S. POSITION. FACT THAT U.S. AND EC ARE IN AGREEMENT ONLY

INCREASES THEIR SUSPICION THAT SOME DEAL HAS BEEN COOKED UP, PERHAPS AT THEIR EXPENSE (WHICH, OF COURSE, IS NOT THE CASE). WE DID NOT RESIST A WEEK'S BREAK IN MEETING OF GROUP AGRICULTURE IN ORDER TO ALLOW DECENT PERIOD FOR EXAMINATION OF U.S. PROPOSAL AND TO ALLOW TIME FOR DELEGATIONS TO CONSULT THEIR CAPITALS. HOWEVER, DEMANDS FOR ELABORATION OF PRECISE RULES AND/OR SUBSTANTIVE UNDERSTANDINGS ABOUT S&D IN THE MTN SIMPLY CANNOT BE MET IN COURSE OF A FEW DAYS' MEETING AND, MORE IMPORTANTLY, S&D IS NOT REALLY GERMANE TO ADOPTION OF U.S. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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REQUEST/OFFER PROCEDURES FOR AGRICULTURAL TARIFFS AND INDUSTRIAL NON-TARIFF MEASURES. THE PROPOSAL, INSTEAD, IS A PROCEDURAL DEVICE TO GET OVER THE IMPASSE THAT HAS BEDEVILED THE MTN SINCE ITS INCEPTION AND TO FIX A TIME-TABLE FOR LAUNCHING CONCRETE NEGOTIATIONS. WITH EC SUPPORT, WE HAVE PROPOSED THAT ON NOVEMBER 1 ALL MTN PARTICIPANTS NOTIFY REQUESTS TO THEIR TRADING PARTNERS INDICATING WHAT AGRICULTURAL TARIFF CUTS AND WHAT AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL NON-TARIFF MEASURES THEY WANT CONCESSIONS ON DURING THE MTN. THE REQUEST PROCEDURE IS TO BE FOLLOWED BY THE TABLING OF OFFERS ON JANUARY 15 SPECIFYING WHAT EACH COUNTRY IS PREPARED TO DO IN RESPONSE TO REQUESTS ADDRESSED TO IT. THERE WILL, INEVITABLY, BE A SUBSTANTIAL GAP BETWEEN WHAT HAS BEEN REQUESTED BY ANY GIVEN COUNTRY AND WHAT IT IS PREPARED TO OFFER. THIS WILL TRIGGER THE PROCESS OF REAL NEGOTIATIONS (WHICH U.S. HOPES CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED WITHIN A SPACE OF A FEW MONTHS AFTER JANUARY 15) IN ORDER TO BRING THE MTN TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION. THE U.S. PROPOSAL IN GROUP NON-TARIFF MEASURES ALSO INCLUDES A PROPOSAL THAT BY DECEMBER 15 ALL CODES AND/OR OTHER MULTILATERAL SOLUTIONS IN THE AREAS OF SUBSIDIES AND COUNTERVAILING DUTIES, CUSTOM VALUATION, GOVERNMENT PROCUREMENT AND STANDARDS BE BROUGHT FORWARD VIA NEGOTIATIONS THROUGHOUT THE FALL OF THIS YEAR TO REFLECT THE MAXIMUM AREA OF AGREEMENT THAT CAN BE REACHED AS OF DECEMBER 15. THE OTHER KEY ELEMENT OF THE MTN TIME-TABLE IS NOT BEING DISCUSSED THIS WEEK IN EITHER GROUP AGRICULTURE OR GROUP NON-TARIFF MEASURES (NEITHER OF WHICH HAS JURISDICTION), BUT WE HAVE TOLD DELEGATIONS HERE IN GENEVA OUR OUR INTENTION TO SEEK AGREEMENT ON A COMPREHENSIVE TARIFF PLAN INCLUDING AN UNDERSTANDING AS TO THE APPLICABILITY OF THE TARIFF-CUTTING FORMULA TO AGRICULTURE AS WELL AS S&D. WE HAVE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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THUS PUT FORWARD (FORMALLY IN ALL RESPECTS OTHER THAN TARIFF

PLAN) A COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH TO UNBLOCK THE MTN AND PROCEED TO CONCRETE NEGOTIATIONS.

5. WE HAVE MADE IT CLEAR TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES THAT THE U.S. IS NOT RETREATING IN ANY WAY FROM ITS COMMITMENTS IN THE TOKYO DECLARATION TO SUPPORT S&D IN ALL AREAS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WHERE FEASIBLE AND APPROPRIATE. WE HAVE PUT FORWARD A NUMBER OF SUGGESTIONS IN THIS RESPECT OVER THE PAST YEAR IN THE RELEVANT MTN GROUPS AND, WHILE FEW SPECIFIC AGREEMENTS HAVE BEEN REACHED, A SIGNIFICANT DEGREE OF CONSENSUS IS EMERGING ON SOME S&D MEASURES. MOREOVER (AND WE HAVE SO INFORMED DELEGATIONS HERE), U.S. IS UNDERTAKING INTENSIVE INTERNAL REVIEW THIS SUMMER IN WASHINGTON IN ORDER TO TRY TO ELABORATE MORE SPECIFIC S&D MEASURES WE COULD ACCEPT. IN THE MEETINGS OF GROUP AGRICULTURE AND DURING INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS ON MARGINS OF THE MEETING WE HAVE OFFERED THE FOLLOWING TEXT TO BE INCLUDED IN A SUMMING-UP OF GROUP AGRICULTURE AND THE NTM GROUP WHICH WOULD SPECIFY THE NOVEMBER 1 TABLING OF REQUESTS AND JANUARY 15 TABLING OF OFFERS:

QUOTE PRIORITY ATTENTION WILL BE GIVEN TO REQUESTS SUBMITTED BY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. DEVELOPED COUNTRIES WILL, IF REQUESTED, AGREE TO PLURILATERAL CONSULTATIONS ON THESE REQUESTS WITH A VIEW TO FULFILLING THE COMMITMENTS OF THE TOKYO DECLARATION WITH RESPECT TO THE TRADE OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ACCEPTED THE PROPOSAL ON THE UNDERSTANDING INTENSIVE EFFORTS WOULD BE MADE IN THE COMING MONTHS TO ELABORATE S&D IN ALL AREAS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WHERE FEASIBLE AND APPROPRIATE. END QUOTE

6. WE ARE PREPARED TO FIDDLE WITH THIS TEXT A BIT IN CONSULTATION WITH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES OVER THE COMING DAYS BUT IT WILL NOT REPEAT NOT BE POSSIBLE TO SO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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REVISE IT AS TO HOLD HOSTAGE THE ENTIRE MTN NEGOTIATING PROCESS UNTIL S&D MEASURES HAVE BEEN ADOPTED IN EACH AREA. THIS IS A PRESCRIPTION FOR DELAYING THE MTN AND MISSING, PERHAPS, THE LAST OPPORTUNITY TO UNBLOCK THE MTN AND BRING IT TO A CONCLUSION WITHIN A REASONABLE TIME PERIOD.

7. WE THINK IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF WASHINGTON WOULD INSTRUCT EMBASSIES IN ADDRESSEE LATIN AMERICAN CAPITALS TO MAKE APPROACHES AT APPROPRIATELY SENIOR LEVELS OF THE MINISTRIES RESPONSIBLE FOR ISSUING INSTRUCTIONS TO THEIR DELEGATIONS IN GENEVA. PURPOSE WOULD BE TO TRY TO ALLAY THEIR SUSPICIONS BY GETTING OUR MESSAGE DIRECTLY ACROSS TO THEM ABOUT OUR HAVING FINALLY MANAGED TO BURY

THE HATCHET WITH THE EC OVER OUR SEVERAL PROCEDURAL HANG-UPS, OPPORTUNITY THIS OFFERS TO UNBLOCK THE MTN, AND THE AFFIRMATION OF NO RETREAT FROM OUR TOKYO DECLARATION COMMITMENT TO S&D BUT THAT SPECIFIC S&D MEASURES CAN ONLY REALISTICALLY BE DEALT WITH IN CONTEXT OF PARTICULAR ELEMENTS OF THE MTN PACKAGE WHICH WILL BE UNDER INTENSIVE NEGOTIATION DURING THE FALL; I.E. WE WILL BE PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE ON REASONABLE S&D IN THE CONTEXT OF DEVELOPING A TARIFF PLAN DURING THE MONTH OF SEPTEMBER, AND WE WILL SIMILARLY BE PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE REASONABLE S&D ATTEMPT TO BRING FORWARD TEXTS ON SUBSIDIES COUNTERVAILING DUTIES, STANDARDS (WHERE S&D MEASURES ARE ALREADY IN THE DRAFT CODE IN ADVANCED STAGE OF PREPARATION), GOVERNMENT PROCUREMENT AND SAFEGUARDS (S&D PROBABLY NOT FEASIBLE IN AREA OF CUSTOMS VALUATION). THESE S&D MEASURES CAN ONLY BE ELABORATED OVER A PERIOD OF COMING SIX MONTHS AND TO INSIST THAT THEY BE SPELLED OUT NOW IS SIMPLY NOT FEASIBLE AND THREATENS ADOPTION OF AGREED TIME-TABLE FOR THE REQUEST/OFFER PROCEDURE.

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8. ARGENTINE AMB MARTINEZ HAS BEEN THE MOST VOCAL AND EXTREME LDC REP THIS WEEK AND HAS DECLARED NO REQUESTS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED AT LEAST TO ARGENTINA, AND IMPLICITLY TO OTHER LDCS. NO OTHER LDC THUS FAR HAS TAKEN THIS EXTREME LINE WHICH, IF PRESSED, WOULD PERHAPS BRING THE MTN TO A HALT BECAUSE THE U.S. WILL NOT ACCEPT GIVING THE LDCS A FREE RIDE AND IS LEGALLY PRECLUDED FROM DOING SO BY U.S. TRADE ACT. MARTINEZ HAS BEEN A RATHER DISRUPTIVE FORCE IN GENEVA FOR SOME TIME IN THE MTN FOR REASONS THAT WE CAN ONLY SPECULATE ABOUT. PERHAPS BRAZILIAN-ARGENTINE RIVALRY FOR LEADERSHIP OVER LATIN AMERICAN GROUP IS A FACTOR AND WITH AMB MACIEL OF BRAZIL AWAY HE MAY BE SEIZING OPPORTUNITY TO ADVANCE HIS CREDENTIALS AS A VIGOROUS DEFENDER OF LDC INTERESTS. HE IS HARD TO DEAL WITH ON THE GROUND BECAUSE HE USUALLY DECLINES INVITATIONS FOR ADVANCE CONSULTATION (WE TENDERED ONE THE DAY BEFORE OPENING OF GROUP AGRICULTURE). WHILE WE RECOGNIZE EXTREME DELICACY OF ANY INTERVENTION IN BUENOS AIRES ON THIS POINT, IF THE GENERAL STATE OF US-ARGENTINE RELATIONS AND/OR EMBASSY BUENOS AIRES' RELATIONS WITH SENIOR LEVELS OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY ARE SUCH AS TO MAKE IT FEASIBLE TO DO SO, A COMMENT ABOUT MARTINEZ' GENERALLY UNHELPFUL ROLE WOULD NOT BE OUT OF PLACE.

9. MEXICAN REPS ARE ALWAYS A THREAT WHEN S&D IS ON THE TABLE. THEIR LOCAL REP IS COMPETENT BUT NOT OF HIGH RANK. WE THEREFORE URGE THAT AMB WOLFF TAKE THIS MATTER UP WITH HERNANDEZ AND GARRIDO AT US-MEXICAN MEETING IN WASHINGTON JULY 22. CULBERT UNQUOTE VANCE

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NODIS

CHEROKEE

FOLLOWING REPEAT LAGOS 13115 ACTION SECSTATE DATED NOV 11:

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CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: X-GDS-1

TAGS: PDEV, RH

SUBJECT: CARVER/OBASANJO TALKS IN LAGOS NOVEMBER 9

REFTEL LAGOS 13026

FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF LORD CARVER'S TELEGRAM TO DAVID OWEN
FOLLOWING HIS MEETING WITH OBASANJO IN LAGOS NOVEMBER 9. THIS
TEXT PROVIDES DETAIL AND ADDITIONAL PERCEPTIONS TO MAIN POINTS
I REPORTED (REFTEL) AFTER DINNER WITH LOSD CARVER, PREM CHAND AND
MICHAEL WEIR TWO NIGHTS AGO.

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QUOTE: 1. I HAD A VERY INTERESTING AND USEFUL MEETING WITH
OBASANJO THIS AFTERNOON. HE HAD WITH HIM GARBA, CHIEF OF
STAFF YAR'ADUA, AND CHIEF OF ARMY STAFF DANJUMA. PREM CHAND
WAS ALSO PRESENT.

2. I BEGAN BY MAKING THE FOURTH COMMITTEE POINTS SUGGESTED IN

YOUR TEL NO. 782. OBASANJO LISTENED ATTENTATIVELY WHILE I GAVE HIM A FULL ACCOUNT OF MY TOUR, INCLUDING KAUNDA'S LATEST POSITION. HE THOUGHT SO FAR SO GOOD, ON THE GROUND THAT NOBODY HAD YET REJECTED OUR PROPOSALS OUTRIGHT, THEY WERE PROBABLY STILL JOCKYING FOR POSITION AND SIZING ME UP. IN ESSENCE, HOWEVER, HE BELIEVED THAT THERE WERE ONLY TWO OPTIONS NOW OPEN TO US. EITHER THE US AND THE UK SHOULD TAKE STEPS TO GET RID OF SMITH, WHEREUPON THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS (AND NIGERIA) WOULD GET THE PATRIOTIC FRONT TO NEGOTIATE WITH US AND SMITH'S SUCCESSORS; OR, WE SHOULD PAUSE FOR A TIME, AND ALLOW THE PATIOTIC FRONT TO SOFTEN UP THE REGIME UNTIL IT BECAME MORE REASONABLE. OBASANJO WAS NOT TOO DISTURBED BY KWUNDA'S POSITION, WHICH PROBABLY REFLECTED ANXIETY LEST AN UNRELIABLE POST-INDEPENDENCE REGIME IN ZIMBABWE SHOULD POSE A THREAT TO HIS BORDERS. HE THOUGHT MACHEL, WHOM HE REGRETTED I HAD NOT SEEN, WOULD HAVE TAKEN A SIMILAR LINE.

3. WE HAD SOME DISCUSSION OF THE PRACTICABILITY OF PRODUCING A UNIFIED ARMY DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. OBASANJO THOUGHT THERE COULD BE LITTLE CONFIDENCE AS BETWEEN WHITE RHODESIAN OFFICERS AND BLACK POLITICAL LEADERS, AND THAT IT WOULD BE OPTIMISTIC TO EXPECT TO HAVE A COMPLETELY LOYAL ARMY BY INDEPENDENCE DAY. A STONG FRAMEWORK WOULD BE MORE IMPORTANT THAN BATTLE EFFICIENCY. THERE WAS NO REASON WHY A FUTURE PRESIDENT SHOULD NOT ENLIST THE HELP OF SAY BRITISH OR INDIAN OFFICERS. WITH ANY LUCK CONFIDENCE WOULD COME IN TIME. I MENTIONED THE

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REGIME'S FEAR OF INCLUDING ANY ZONLA ELEMENTS IN A FORCE. OBASANJO COMMENTED THAT SO LONG AS NKOMO AND MUGABE HELD TOGETHER THE PATRIOTIC FRONT FORCES MUST BE ACCEPTED AS ONE.

4. OBASANJO REITERATED THAT BEFORE THERE COULD BE FURTHER PROGRESS WITH TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS THE US AND THE UK MUST DO SOME POLITICAL FOOTWORK. SMITH WAS NOW TALKING DIFFERENTLY, AND APPEARED BENT ON AN INTERNAL SOLUTION IGNORING THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. IF THAT HAPPENED WE COULD FORGET THE WHITE PAPER AND LET FIGHTING CONTINUE. IT WAS NO GOOD BEGGING HIM TO NEGOTIATE. AS HE HAD TOLD YOU AT YOUR LAST MEETING THE MOMENT FOR NEGOTIATION HAD PASSED. DURING HIS VISIT TO WASHINGTON PRESIDENT CARTER HAD ASSURED HIM THAT WE WOULD LEAVE NO STONE UNTURNED. ONCE SMITH HAD BEEN REMOVED THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WOULD MAKE NO DIFFICULTY ABOUT NEGOTIATING WITH GENERAL WALLS FOR EXAMPLE, AND THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS WOULD PRESSURIZE THEM TO DO SO. HE WAS SURE THAT THEY COULD ALSO GET THE PATRIOTIC FRONT TO ACCEPT ONE MAN ONE VOTE, IN SPITE OF KAUNDA'S POSITION. MEANWHILE OBASANJO COULD UNDERSTAND KAUNDA'S SCEPTICISM.

5. COMMENT BY HIGH COMMISSIONER FALLE. THE IMPERATIVE NEED TO GET RID OF SMITH AND NOT TO TREAT HIM AS AN EQUAL

PARTNER IN "NEGOTIATIONS" HAS BEEN BASIC NIGERIAN POLICY
SINCE THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS WERE LAUNCHED. OBASANJO
WAS COMPLETELY COOL, RATIONAL AND MODERATE THROUGHOUT THE
DISCUSSION. GARBA ON THE OTHER HAND, ALTHOUGH HE CONTROLLED
HIMSELF, APPEARED DISTURBED AND DISAPPOINTED THAT MORE HAD
NOT BEEN ACHIEVED, PARTICULARLY REGARDING SMITH. YOU WILL
RECALL THAT, BEFORE OUR PRESENT IMPROVED RELATIONS, THE
NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT WERE CONVINCED THAT WE WERE SOFT ON SMITH
AND LACKED THE DETERMINATION TO REMOVE HIM. UNQUOTE
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